

ROBERT O. CORCORAN

Indigenous People & Wenham





Indigenous tools found in the Salem area, photographed *ca.*1924
The spear head was found on the shore of Wenham Lake

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By
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On the cover:

John Winthrop, *A Chart of Massachusetts Bay*, 1633, detail.

Original in the British Museum. This is a ca.1884 facsimile in the collection of the Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center at the Boston Public Library, G3762.B6 1633 .W5 1884x. This portion of the map shows Essex County and an out-of-scale Cape Ann. The words "Agawam," "Indians" and "Salem" appear to the left of Cape Ann; "Anasquam" appears on Cape Ann itself.

Frontispiece:

Perley (1924), 1:34-35

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FOREWORD

It was the corn.

Wenham's founders sited their village in 1637 in the area of the present-day Wenham Country Club and Wenham Pines development. They chose this spot northeast of Wenham Lake—and not on another part of the lake or elsewhere along the road from Salem to Ipswich—in part because Indigenous people had already cleared some land here to grow corn.

This book is meant to tell the story of Wenham's interactions with Indigenous people during the colonial period, and is meant to encourage readers to visit the sites around town where the story happened. It is a story that goes back and forth between peace and conflict; a story that involves different groups of Indigenous peoples, both local and remote, friendly and not. While this booklet is not meant to be a comprehensive study of Essex County's Indigenous populations, I include selected content about neighboring towns in order to convey the climate of the times.

Documenting colonial-period interactions between colonists and Indigenous people in this part of Essex County is a one-sided affair. We simply don't have contemporaneous accounts of events from the perspective of the Pawtucket or Abenaki peoples. And the contemporaneous accounts that we do have were written by colonists for colonists and their sponsors in England. I ask the reader to keep this in mind.

There is renewed interest in telling the story of Indigenous people in Essex County, and it is my hope that this book is a useful contribution in driving local recognition of our shared history. I'd like to thank Deirdre Pierotti Dean, Martha Brennan and my husband Rick Woodland for their enthusiastic support of this project.

PRE-CONTACT

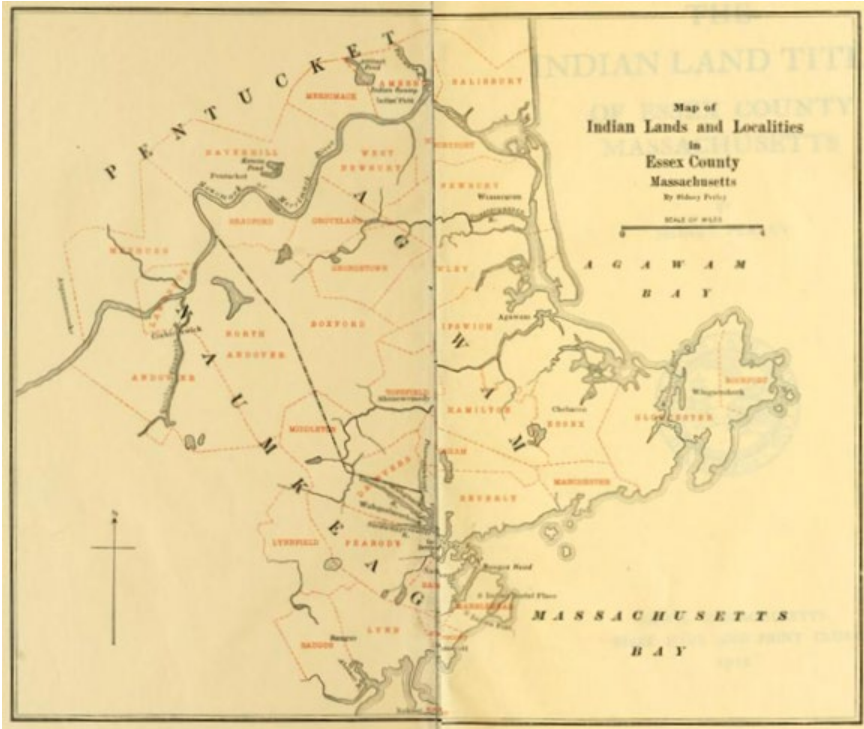
WENHAM is part of the territory that was once occupied by the Pawtucket people we call the Agawam, who were a branch of the Pennacook of the Lower Merrimack Valley. For most of their history they practiced seasonal migration in an area that encompassed their village of Wamesit (Lowell), southward to Beverly Harbor and eastward to the Atlantic. The Pawtucket people we call the Naumkeag (Nahumkeak) were their neighbors to the southwest. The idea of tribes with boundaries that enclosed sovereign territories was a European concept, not an Indigenous one. The Crane River in Danvers is the point closest to Wenham that the English drew as a boundary between Agawam- and Naumkeag-occupied lands.¹

A minister in Salem, writing in 1629, provided this description of the Pawtucket people:²

[T]hey are a tall and strong-limbed people; their colors are tawney; they go naked, save only they are in part covered with beasts' skins on one of their shoulders and wear something before their privates; their hair is generally black and cut before (like our gentlewomen) and one lock longer than the rest. For their weapons, they have bows and arrows, some of them headed with bone and some with brass. ... The men for the most part live idly; they

1 Essex County Deeds 7:126 (David Nonnuphanohow *et al.* to Town of Salem, 1686); 11:131 (James Rumney Marsh, deposition, 1686), and 11:131 (Thomas Queakussen, deposition, 1686). Felt (1834), 1-2. Felt (1845) 1:8, 28-33. Perley (1912), 6-7. Perley (1924), 41-44.

2 Higginson (1629), 122-123. Spelling and punctuation edited. Higginson was describing the people associated with Naumkeag village. The statement that the Pawtucket wore their hair "cut before" seems to be a reference to bangs.



Areas occupied by the Pawtucket peoples known as the Agawam and Naumkeag³

3 Perley (1912), frontispiece.

do nothing but hunt and fish. Their wives set their corn and do all their other work. They have little household stuff, [such] as a kettle and some other vessels like trays, spoons, dishes and baskets. Their houses are very little and homely, being made with small poles pricked into the ground, and so bended and fastened at the tops. And on the sides they are matted with boughs and covered on the roof with sedge and old mats. And for their beds that they take their rest on, they have a mat.

Neither the Agawam nor the Naumkeag were tribes. Both were groups of Pawtucket families that were each associated with a particular place—Agawam being the Indigenous name for the village at Ipswich and Naumkeag being the name for the village at Salem.⁴ The people we call the Agawam had their main village at Lowell. Their seasonal migration resulted in a series of trails throughout Essex County. One of these trails ran from Beverly to Ipswich hugging the Cape Ann coast, parts of which would eventually become Route 127. Another trail bypassed this route: the entire length of Wenham’s Main Street aligns with this shortcut and was later used by the colonists as the road that linked Salem with Ipswich.⁵

Wenham’s earliest house sites were in the approximate location of today’s Wenham Country Club and Wenham Pines development, where the Pawtucket had already cleared some land for their corn field.

Physical evidence has been found that tells us the Pawtucket fished in Wenham Lake⁶ and planted corn nearby at the present-day site of the

4 Felt (1834), 8, citing Masconomet’s deed to John Winthrop, 1638. Perley (1924), 44, citing John Higginson’s deposition, 1694.

5 Hines (1919), 29. Perley (1919), 98. Tapley (1923), 8. Perley (1924), 312. O’Leary (2002). Lepionka (2017–2022), “Where are Agawam and Wenesquawam?” Lepionka (2017–2022), “Where Were the Indigenous Settlements in Essex County?” Lepionka (2021), “Who Were the Agawam Indians, Really?” Part of the Puritans’ layout of Wenham’s Main Street might have veered a bit from the Pawtucket path, and might originally have been somewhat to the east of present-day Main Street: In 1644 the Massachusetts General Court ordered “that the commissioners for the laying out of the roadway between Ipswich and Salem shall have power to alter the way laid out beneath Wenham towards the east, and to lay it through the town if they shall judge it meet.” Shurtleff (1853), 2:82. Perley (1888), 1230. Spelling edited.

6 Allen (1860), 24. Perley (1924), 35–36. Lillie (1976). Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 8–9. Janes (2011), 13. Hauck (2013), 7, 29, 31. Lepionka (2017–2022), “Where Were the Indigenous Settlements in Essex County?”

Wenham County Club.⁷ Indeed, the location of the corn field was probably an important factor in the colonists' decision to site Wenham village where they did. Wenham's first houses *weren't* clustered around the present-day common, but rather were in the area of the Wenham Country Club and Wen-

"The Agawam" is a title assigned by English colonists to the Pawtucket people they found near the Indigenous village called Agawam (Ipswich). That people didn't refer to themselves as "the Agawam."

ham Pines development.⁸ The Englishmen who sited the village could have selected a spot anywhere that corresponds to present-day Wenham or North Beverly, but decided on a spot adjacent to the trail that connected the former Indigenous villages at Agawam (Ipswich) and Naumkeag (Salem), that had already been partially cleared by the Pawtucket to grow corn.⁹

7 Phillips (1938), 104. Cole (1943), 7. Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 8-9, 26.

8 Allen (1860), 25-26, 160, 194-195. Pierce (1896), 62-63. Wenham Historical Society (1930), 4-5. Corcoran (2021), 1:10-11, n. 16. Alewife Brook (the stream connecting Wenham Lake with Miles River) was part of the original town line between Wenham and Beverly (Salem) as late as 1667; see Perley (1926), map between 147 and 148, 154.

9 The Puritans had a practice of using Indigenous-cleared agricultural land for their own high-priority land acquisition. Other examples include John Endicott's 1638 purchase of land at Gloucester (Lepionka (2022), "Indigenous History on Babson Meadows in Riverdale") and the General Court's 1657 grant of land along the Cocheco River to Ipswich's William Hubbard (Shurtleff (1854), 4:1:300-301).



Indigenous artifacts found in Wenham.¹⁰ The Pawtucket were a Late Woodland people who migrated into Essex County from New Hampshire between about 750 and 1,000 years ago. While some of the artifacts shown here were likely made by them, others likely predate the Pawtucket.

¹⁰ Cole (1943), between 10-11. See also Janes (2011), 10. For a discussion of peoples living in Essex County prior to the Pawtucket, see Lepionka (2017–2022), “What People Lived in Essex County, and When?”

Points of Interest

- **Main Street, Beverly Town Line to Hamilton Town Line.** The entire length of Main Street aligns with, or is very close to, an Agawam trail that the colonists converted to the road that linked Salem with Ipswich.
- **Wenham Country Club, 94 Main Street.** Evidence of an Agawam corn field was once found on the sixteenth hole of the Wenham Country Club. This area corresponds to the location of some of the colonists' earliest house sites. Because this land was open field in the late 1630s (or, at least, had vegetation that was no larger than a sapling), it's probably a key reason why the colonists' housing was first cited here.
- **Wenham Lake.** The Agawam had a camp on the southeast shore of Wenham Lake in North Beverly.

DICHOTOMY

1630s–EARLY 1670s

AT the time of the Puritans' arrival, the Indigenous families who were centered around Agawam village (Ipswich) were led by a sagamore whose Pawtucket name was Quonopkonat. He was given the honorific name Masquenomoit, which the English rendered as Masconomet.¹¹ He and his allied families were generally friendly to the Puritans ... and they had incentive to be. Agawam was threatened by a series of raids by the hostile Abenaki, who were living in Maine. And the Pawtucket population was reduced by an epidemic (perhaps leptospirosis) during 1616–1619 that had been introduced by European traders that decimated Indigenous populations throughout southern New England. Perhaps only a few hundred Pawtucket were living by the time of the Puritans' arrival.¹² (In 1631 Gov. Thomas Dudley wrote: "Near to Salem dwelleth two or three families subject to the sagamore of Agawam ... This sagamore has but few subjects.¹³") A 1633 epidemic of smallpox reduced their population even further. Their population on the decline, the Pawtucket saw an alliance with the Puritans not just as a source of trade but also as potential protection from their Indigenous enemies to the north.

11 Lepionka (2021), "Who Were the Agawam Indians, Really?"

12 Gookin (1674), 148–149. Hauck (2013), 18.

13 Dudley (1631), 226. Felt (1834), 305. Felt (1845), 1:15. Spelling edited.

And their enemies remained a threat. In 1631 about 100 “Tarrantine”¹⁴ men paddled canoes down the coast to raid the Pawtucket who were living at Agawam (Ipswich). Petuhanit—a Nipmuc sachem whom the colonists called Old Robin—got word of the impending attack and tipped off Ipswich colonist John Perkins Jr. (1614–1686). Perkins raised the alarm, and colonial forces were able to repel the attackers.¹⁵

When Wenham was being settled at the close of the 1630s, the neighboring Agawam were friendly (though few in number). But the Tarrantines in Maine were a lingering threat. And enslavement of hostile Indigenous people was an acceptable practice in the eyes of the colonists.

Soon after Contact, many Essex County Puritans fell into a model of generally-peaceful alliance with neighboring low-population Indigenous peoples that was countered by open warfare with more-remote, larger-population groups—those peoples with populations large enough to enable them to push back on European encroachment. It was a model that lasted in New England for a century and a half, and of course persisted elsewhere in this country much longer than that.

The Pequot War of 1636–1638 was fought between English colonists and the Pequot people of Connecticut. Despite the distance, at least 18 Salem men fought alongside soldiers from other parts of Massachusetts in a campaign led by Salem’s John Endicott (*ca.*1600–1665). Rev. Hugh Peter (bp.1598–1660), who would later preach a sermon at the time of Wenham’s founding and has a monument to his memory at Wenham Lake, tried to secure some Pequot prisoners to be sent to Bermuda as enslaved workers. Rev. Peter wrote to Governor John Winthrop in 1637:

We have heard of a dividence [division] of [Pequot] women and children ... and would be glad of a share, viz: a young woman or girl and a boy if you

14 “Tarrantines” is the name the French used to refer to groups of Indigenous peoples (the Abenaki and Mi’kmaq) who were living in Nova Scotia, northern Maine and the Maritime provinces.

15 Hubbard (1680), 145. Hutchinson (1765), 27. Felt (1834), 209. Perkins (1889), 1:7-11. Hosmer (1908), 1:66-67. Lepionka (2022), “The Story Behind the Story of Wigwam Hill.”

think good. I wrote to you for some boys for Bermuda which I think is considerable [worth considering].

One of the Pequot captives was brought back to Salem. Rev. Peter had an enslaved Indigenous woman in his household, whose English name was Hope, who tried to run away in 1639.¹⁶

Meanwhile, the Puritans were filling what they saw as empty space between Salem and Ipswich. The area of land that originally belonged to Salem was enormous, encompassing not just present-day Salem, but also Wenham, Manchester-by-the-Sea, Marblehead, Beverly, Danvers, Peabody and part of Middleton. Like other towns throughout the Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth Colonies, Salem was experiencing a population boom during the 1630s. It was the height of the Great Migration of 1620–1640 when some twenty thousand Puritans left England for Massachusetts¹⁷ in search of a more favorable religious, political and economic climate. Salem responded to the wave of immigration by developing new population centers within its borders that were intended to mature into stand-alone towns. Salem began giving land away in present-day Wenham in 1637, encouraging enough people to move there so that Wenham was able to break off as its own town in 1643.

Wenham's records for its first few decades are painfully sparse. There are multiple reasons for this: There wasn't a large population of Puritans living here; they didn't bother to record everything that happened; what they did record focused more on legal matters (town meeting votes, property sales) and less on the chronicling of current events; and some of their records have simply been lost to time. Consequently, the absence of any recorded conflict suggests a period of peaceful coexistence. Three Beverly residents—Richard Brackenbury (*ca.*1600–1684), William Dixie (*ca.*1607–1690) and Humphrey Woodbury (*ca.*1608–1686)—testified that residents of Salem and Beverly during this period had never been “disturbed” by their Indigenous neighbors.¹⁸

16 Peters (1902), 10, 16–17. Essex Institute (1911), 11. Perley (1924), chapter 22. Peter to Winthrop, *ca.* July 15, 1637, retrieved from Winthrop Papers Digital Edition (2023). Spelling and punctuation of Peter's correspondence to Winthrop has been edited.

17 Anderson (1991), 15. Betlock (2003), 18–20.

18 Essex County Deeds 5:107 (Richard Brackenbury, deposition, 1680[/1]); 5:107 (William Dixie [*sic*], deposition, 1680[/1]); and 5:108 (Humphrey Woodbury, deposition, 1680[/1]). Perley (1924), 47. Dixy's/Dixie's deposition makes reference to the Agawams' fear of the Tarrantines.



Masconomet's grave, Sagamore Hill, Hamilton¹⁹

¹⁹ September 5, 2023 photograph by Robert O. Corcoran.



Rev. Hugh Peter Monument, Main Street at Wenham Lake. Rev. Peter had an enslaved Indigenous woman named Hope in his household. This monument marks the spot where Rev. Peter preached a sermon at the time of the founding of Wenham.²⁰

²⁰ September 6, 2023 photograph by Robert O. Corcoran.

But the same could not be said by those neighbors. In 1659 Ipswich resident Robert Cross Jr. (b.*ca.*1642) dug up Masconomet's bones, the sagamore having died the year before, and paraded around Ipswich with the skull on a pole. Cross was prosecuted in 1667. He was imprisoned, put in the stocks, assessed a fine and ordered to rebury the bones. The court record called the episode "a barbarous and inhuman act."²¹

In 1650 Robert Gowen (1618–1698) was fined £10 for selling a gun to an "Indian"²²—but this is the only surviving recorded incident during this period that involved a Wenhamite and an Indigenous person.

At one time the Perkins family had a deed for their property (apparently their land between present-day Arbor Street and Pleasant Pond) that was signed by an Indigenous man with a picture of an arrow.²³

During the decades following Wenham's settlement, the town's records have many references to "Indian corn"—the Pawtucket having introduced the grain to the colonists. Essex County's economy entailed a significant amount of barter and corn was often used as a substitute for currency. For example, when Rev. Antipas Newman's (*ca.*1627–1672) contract for 1659 was made with the town of Wenham, seven of the 27 men responsible for paying his salary paid some or all of their portions in bushels of corn. His successor Rev. Joseph Gerrish (1650–1720) also received part of his salary in bushels of corn.²⁴

Despite the many references to "Indian corn," and excepting the Gowen gun-selling incident, Wenham's surviving records from this period are silent about Indigenous people themselves. The silence reflects, in part, the establishment of "praying towns." The Puritans established a series of these towns to encourage²⁵ Indigenous peoples to move to permanent (non-migratory)

21 Felt (1834), 115. Essex Institute (1913), 400.

22 Shurtleff (1854), 3:193. Allen (1860), 30. Half of Gowen's fine was waived, but the surviving record doesn't explain the reason. How much was £10 worth? By way of comparison, Richard Kimball Jr. paid £100 in 1657 when he bought 164 acres of open land in Wenham; see Essex County Deeds 4:182 (John Shipley to Richard Kimball [*sic*] [Jr.], 1656[7]).

23 Allen (1860), 48. Archer (1878), 417. MACRIS, WNH.112 (1977, 1986). Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 107. The house was demolished in 2011.

24 Wenham Historical Society (1930), 11, 13, 14, 17–18, 41, 67, 78, 98, 109, 166.

25 At first a voluntary concept, we will see in the next section of this book that residence in a praying town would become mandatory for nearly all Indigenous people in the area.

residences, the Puritans having three objectives of (1) converting and assimilating Indigenous peoples, (2) promoting expansion of English settlement and (3) strengthening the colonists' defenses against hostile Indigenous peoples. (The concept was controversial at the time: Where did the English get off, granting land to Indigenous people who originally occupied that land?) One of these towns was established at Wamesit in the 1650s, the Pawtucket village at present-day Lowell.²⁶ We don't know how many Pawtucket might still have been living in the Wenham area, either permanently or on a migratory basis, during the two decades following Wenham's settlement. But the creation of the praying town at Wamesit was incentive for any Pawtucket remaining in the area to move away to their "home" ancestral village.

The silence in Wenham's records reflects the establishment of a praying town at Wamesit (Lowell), part of the Puritans' program to consolidate the places where Indigenous people lived.

26 For a discussion of Wamesit and the establishment of praying towns, see Malpica (2021), chapter 4.

Points of Interest

- **Masconomet's Grave, 305 Sagamore Hill Road, Hamilton.** Masconomet was buried near the top of the hill and a monument was erected in 1910 to mark his grave. The site is tended by Indigenous caretakers on land protected by the Essex County Greenbelt Association.
- **Claflin-Richards House, 132 Main Street.** This was the residence of Rev. Joseph Gerrish, who had part of his salary paid in bushels of "Indian corn."
- **Rev. Hugh Peter Monument, Main Street at Wenham Lake.** Rev. Peter, who preached the first sermon delivered in town, had an enslaved Indigenous woman named Hope in his household. This monument to his memory doesn't mention this fact, focusing instead on his role in helping to found Wenham.

KING PHILIP'S WAR 1675–1676

ALTHOUGH relations between the Puritans and Indigenous people in Essex County had been generally peaceful, that was not the case elsewhere in New England. Tensions had been building over decades in southeastern Massachusetts and Rhode Island as English colonists encroached further into Indigenous-occupied land. Mutual distrust escalated during the early 1670s, and the Puritans armed up. Like other towns, Wenham assessed a special tax in 1671 to buy ammunition (a tax that was payable in money, wheat, malt or butter).²⁷

Metacomet (Pometacomet), sachem of the Wampanoag whom the English called King Philip, floated the idea of forming a confederation of New England-based Indigenous peoples—which heightened the distrust of the colonists, fearful that a confederation foretold a pending attack. Sassamon, an Indigenous spy for the English, betrayed Metacomet's plan. Sassamon was assassinated in retaliation by three Indigenous men who were loyal to Metacomet. The English executed these men for murder—which infuriated the Wampanoag. Meanwhile, Metacomet led a war party against colonists of Swansea who had settled on Wampanoag homeland near Mt. Hope, Rhode Island, in which the settlers ignored both legal boundary markers and a treaty with the Plymouth Colony. War broke out in 1675, spread throughout New

²⁷ Wenham Historical Society (1930), 35-36. Cole (1943), 32-33.



Metacomet (1638–1676), called by the colonists King Philip, sachem of the Wampanoag.²⁸ This is a romanticized image, one that is not anthropologically correct, created by silversmith/engraver Paul Revere (1735–1818) in 1772 nearly a century after Metacomet's death.

²⁸ Yale University Art Collection 1946.9.994. This image was published Church (1772), between 88–89. Revere appears to have based this image on John Simon's 1710 engraving "Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Row Emperor of the Six Nations." Cray (2009), 123.

Wenham Soldiers in King Philip's War

Capt. John Dodge (1636–1723)²⁹

Lieut. Thomas Fiske Sr. (1632–1707)³⁰

Sgt. Richard Hutton (*ca.*1617–1713)³¹

Sgt. John Perkins (1652–1718)³²

Sgt. Ezekiel Woodward (*ca.*1622–1699)³³

Thomas Abbey (*ca.*1654–1728)³⁴

Mark Batchelder (*ca.*1636?–1675)³⁵

John Fiske (1654–*ca.*1718)³⁶

Thomas Kilham (*ca.*1653–1725)³⁷

Richard Kimball (1643–1715)³⁸

Thomas Kimball (1657–1732)³⁹

Samuel Moulton (*bp.*1642)⁴⁰

29 Bodge (1884), 442. Dodge (1894), 17–18. Cole (1943), 33.

30 Hubbard (1677), 2:223. Pierce (1896), 64–65. Bodge (1891), 260–262. Bodge (1896), 286, 310–315. Cole (1943), 33.

31 “A List of the Names,” MS. Perley (1888), 1238. Bodge (1896), 423, 451. Cole (1943), 33.

32 Denison, MS (1675). “Major Appletons [*sic*] Soldiers,” MS. Bodge (1884), 441. Perkins (1889), 3:8. Bodge (1896), 423 (rendered as “Joseph” Perkins).

33 “Major Appletons [*sic*] Soldiers,” MS. Bodge (1884), 440, 443. Waters (1905–1917), 1:199. Corcoran (2021), 2:10.

34 “Major Appletons [*sic*] Soldiers,” MS. Weaver (1864), 25–26. Bodge (1884), 441–443. Perley (1888), 1238. Bodge (1896), 156, 423. Waters (1905–1917), 1:199. Abbe and Nichols (1916), 12. Cole (1943), 33.

35 “A List of the Names,” MS. Bodge (1891), 119. Perley (1888), 1238. Bodge (1896), 167. Pierce (1898), 344. Cole (1943), 33. Bodge (1896), 423 provides the name of soldier Joseph Batchelder who had a nephew John Batchelder. Soldier Joseph might have been the Joseph born in Salem in 1653 but no corroboration of this has been found. See Pierce (1898), 353, 357.

36 Allen (1860), 39. Perley (1888), 1238. Pierce (1896), 75–77.

37 Denison, MS (1675). “Major Appletons [*sic*] Soldiers,” MS. Bodge (1884), 441, 443. Waters (1905–1917), 1:200, 221. Corcoran (2021), 2:8.

38 Bodge (1896), 451.

39 “A List of the Names,” MS. Bodge (1891), 311. Perley (1888), 1238. Bodge (1896), 372. Morrison and Sharples (1897), 1:52. Cole (1943).

40 “A List of the Names,” MS. Perley (1888), 1238. Cole (1943), 33.

England, and lasted fourteen months. The Pawtucket and Massachuset peoples remained neutral or aided the English. The Iroquois, traditional enemies of the Indigenous peoples of New England, along with the Mohegan and Mohawk (Kanienkahaka), were allied with the English. But most of the

An estimated 50% of Indigenous people died from battle, disease or starvation.

Nipmuc, Pennacook, Narragansett, Pocumtuck and Abenaki joined the Wampanoag.

The war prompted a government report that tallied the Indigenous population who were considered friendly to the colonists. Just 25 Agawam were tallied “at or about” Ipswich.⁴¹

Many scholars consider King Philip’s War the bloodiest war in United States history in terms of percent-of-population lost. Fifty-two English towns were attacked across New England, a dozen were destroyed, and an estimated 2,500 English colonists were killed. At least 5,000 Indigenous people were killed; some historians estimate that half the Indigenous population of New England died from battle, disease or starvation.⁴² During the course of the war, Indigenous people were by law confined to praying towns, banned from entering English towns unless under guard or living as enslaved members of colonists’ households. Yet even the praying town of Wamesit (Lowell), which had been established in part to assimilate allied Indigenous people, was raided by the English.

Thomas Fiske Sr. (1632–1707)—who had served Wenham as representative to the General Court, selectman and town clerk—was put in charge of a company of 60 Essex County soldiers. They and another 60-man company from Boston were sent to Black Point, Maine to retake a fort that had been captured by the Abenaki.⁴³ Eleven other Wenham residents fought in the war

41 Gookin (1676), 533. Felt (1834), 306. Marriage of Wenhamites with the Agawam, if any, have yet to be documented but see Phillips (1938), 59–60 and Dodge (1968), III–5.

42 Cray (2009), 107.

43 Hubbard (1677), 2:223. Bodge (1891), 260–262. Bodge (1896), 286, 310–315. Pierce (1896), 64–65. Fiske would later serve as foreman of the jury that heard the Salem Witchcraft Trials. For more on his career see Corcoran (2021), 1:63.

(table, page 17).⁴⁴ Wenhamites Thomas Abbey, Mark Batchelder, Thomas Kilham, Ezekiel Woodward and perhaps John Dodge fought in the Great Swamp Fight (South Kingstown, Rhode Island), the battle that reversed the momentum of the war. Abbey was wounded and Batchelder was killed in that battle.⁴⁵

44 Two additional men appear on lists of Wenham soldiers who actually lived in Ipswich or Hamilton: Caleb Kimball (1647–1675) and Philip Welch (b.*ca.*1642–after 1720). Caleb Kimball died in the Battle of Bloody Brook (South Deerfield, Massachusetts). For Kimball, see Felt (1834), 147; Conant (1887), 156; Perley (1888), 1238; Bodge (1891), 90, 92, 93; Bodge (1896), 136, 138, 139; Morrison and Sharples (1897), 1:36; Waters (1905–1917), 2:8; and Cole (1943), 33–34. For Welch, see “A List of the Names,” MS; Waters (1905–1917), 2:390; Welch (1947), 12, 15; Perley (1888), 1238; and Cole (1943), 33.

45 Weaver (1864), 25–26. Perley (1888), 1238. Dodge (1894), 17–18. Pierce (1898), 344. Waters (1905–1917), 1:199–203. Abbe and Nichols (1916), 12.



“Attack on the Narragansett Fort, December 19th 1675,” an 1841 engraving by Samuel E. Brown.⁴⁶ Metacomet’s fighters are seen on the left defending a fort that they had built on an island in the Great Swamp in South Kingstown, Rhode Island. English fighters are seen on the right, several of whom are crossing a log to get to the island. Four or perhaps five Wenham soldiers fought in the Great Swamp Fight.

⁴⁶ New York Public Library Digital Collections. This image was published Barber (1841), between 234-235.

Points of Interest

Three houses are still standing that were residences of veterans of King Philip's War:

- **Thomas Kilham House, 26 Maple Street.** The oldest part of the house is thought to date to *ca.*1686.⁴⁷
- **Richard Hutton House, 185 Main Street.** The oldest part of the house is thought to date to *ca.*1679.⁴⁸
- **John Solart House, 106 Main Street.** Built by John Solart (*ca.*1625–1672), the oldest part of the house is thought to date to *ca.*1670. King Philip's War veteran Ezekiel Woodward lived here after marrying Solart's widow.⁴⁹

47 MACRIS, WNH.121 (1977, 1985). Corcoran (2021), 2:12, 27-30.

48 MACRIS, WNH.45 (1970, 1971). Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 81-83.

49 MACRIS, WNH.91 (1971, 1976). Corcoran (2021), 2:9-11.

DIASPORA

1680s

IN 1677 Massachusetts ordered all Indigenous people to live in praying towns, making exceptions for enslaved members of colonists' households.⁵⁰ "The Pawtucket-Pennacook, facing few choices, but to live in praying towns, assimilate into English society as servants or go to jail, were largely forced to relocate, and forfeit or sell their remaining land for pennies on the dollar."⁵¹ Relocation became a diaspora, with many of the surviving Pawtucket moving to Canada. But diaspora didn't happen overnight. Court testimony from 1682 and an Englishman's travelogue from 1686 provide details about Pawtucket people who were still living in or near Wenham.



Wenham's selectmen licensed just one tavern in town, and residents Walter Fairfield (bp.1631–1723) and Ezekiel Woodward (*ca.*1622–1699) both thought that they should have that license. Woodward had been the town's tavern-keeper but allowed his license to lapse during 1681. Fairfield filled the void and won the selectmen's license. But Woodward thought that the two men had made a gentlemen's agreement whereby Fairfield would run the

50 Shurtleff (1854), 5:136

51 Malpica (2021), 160-161.

tavern for only one year, and that Fairfield would cede the license to Woodward after that time. When that didn't happen Woodward sued Fairfield and the matter went to court in 1682. As might be expected, both complained that the other one wasn't fit to run a tavern, and witnesses' testimony focused

Seeing a Pawtucket man drinking rum in a tavern (though illegal) was an unremarkable occurrence. And if you needed some work done on your farm, Pawtucket men were available for hire.

on how each man (or his wife) had served liquor illegally to Indigenous men.⁵²

Fairfield testified that Woodward and "Sam Hide the Indian" came into Fairfield's tavern one day and Woodward ordered "a gill of liquor" on behalf of Hide.⁵³ Apparently Woodward and Hide were drinking buddies: Woodward was quoted as saying that Hide was "the rogue who gave me a dram in the woods."⁵⁴

Woodward and his son testified that they saw Fairfield's wife serve rum to "an Indian." Thomas Fiske Jr. (*ca.*1653–1723)

testified that "he saw an Indian drinking strong beer out of a quart pot and asking Goodwife Fairfield if she gave Indians strong drink, she replied, 'And why not? We are all one man's children.'" John Abbey Jr. (b.1666) testified that when he was at Fairfield's tavern he saw Goodwife Fairfield "deliver two gills of liquor to an Indian, who gave [Abbey] some of it." Bethiah Solart (1667–1729)—Woodward's step-daughter—testified that "a group of Indians who made [a] stone wall for [Woodward] came from Wenham drunk. They brought liquor with them and said they had three quarts of rum at Fairfield's the day before. They gave [me] some to drink." Richard Hutton (*ca.*1617–1713) testified "that an Indian came in the evening to his house, rapped on the door and came in, Thomas Fiske Sr. being there at the time. He smelled strong of liquor and [we] charged him with being drunk," discerning that he had come from Fairfield's tavern. John Severett (*ca.*1644–

52 Essex Institute (1921), 383–385, 387–388, 435–436. Wenham Historical Society (1930), 56.

53 A gill is equal to four ounces.

54 Essex Institute (1921), 435.

1742) testified that he saw Goodwife Fairfield give liquor to “an Indian” in her house.⁵⁵

There are elements of this story that are certainly frustrating. Who was Sam Hide? Where did he live? Where were the woods where Woodward and Hide were drinking? And what was 15 year-old Bethiah Solart doing accepting a drink of alcohol from a group of Agawam men?

There used to be an island in Wenham Swamp along the Hamilton-Wenham town line—approximately mid-way between Perkins Island and Fowler’s Island—called Wigwam Island. It doesn’t appear on modern maps. It must have been rather small; apparently it is now submerged or perhaps it was excavated in the nineteenth century for peat. (It might not even have been what we think of as an island in the middle of a body of water. Rather, it might have been low-lying land that was surrounded by drainage ditches.⁵⁶) The island is mentioned in 1725 and 1736 descriptions of the town line,⁵⁷ although the origin of its name is unexplained. Maybe it simply looked like a wigwam from a distance. Or perhaps it had been the site of one or more Agawam wigwams when English colonists settled the area.⁵⁸ Indeed, the one-time existence of Wigwam Island raises the possibility that Sam Hide may have lived in the woods of Wenham Swamp.

When we step back from the finger-pointing in the Woodward *vs.* Fairfield suit, details come into focus that help us see what acculturation looked like in 1682 Wenham, even as many of the surviving Pawtucket were relocating to Canada. First, at least some of the Pawtucket men visited taverns.

55 Essex Institute (1921), 436. Spelling and punctuation edited.

56 There was a series of ditches that drained the areas between the Great Meadow, the Ipswich River and Wenham Swamp. For example, the Beverly Ditch (the name of which is unexplained, given its distance from Beverly) drained into the Ipswich River and formed the boundary between Topsfield’s Pigeon Meadow and Wenham’s Perkins Island. Wenham Historical Society (1930), 131-132; Wenham Historical Society (1938), 216-217, 218; and Wenham Historical Society, *Supplement* (1940), 21. Other examples include the drainage ditches that separated Wenham Swamp from the Great Meadow to the west and the William Fiske Sr. Farm to the southwest. Corcoran (2021), 1:173-174, 203-204 (Lord’s Meadow), 2:32.

57 Wenham Historical Society (1938), 194. Wenham Historical Society, *1730–1775* (1940), 34. See also Lillie (1976). The island, being on the town line, was along the north boundary of the first division of Wenham Swamp laid out in 1705, but is not mentioned in the description of the first division; see Wenham Historical Society, *Supplement* (1940), 89. The island does not appear in United States Geological Survey (1888).

58 Consider the case of Wigwam Hill on Castle Neck, Ipswich, so named because Indigenous families were living in wigwams there as early as 1669 and as late as 1726. Essex County Deeds 46:98 (Commoners of Ipswich to Symonds Epes, 1727). Felt (1834), 5-6, 34. Waters (1905–1917), 2:737-741. Harris (2020). Lepionka (2022), “The Story Behind the Story of Wigwam Hill.”

Second, Wenhamites who saw Pawtucket drinking rum in the tavern were pretty casual about it; nobody (apparently) bothered to get a constable, even though serving liquor to an Indigenous person was illegal.⁵⁹ Third, the Pawtucket spoke English. Fourth, at least some of them were available for hire; if you needed a stone wall built, they could build one for you. Fifth, one encountered Pawtucket men around town by themselves as well as in a group, at night and during the day.



John Dunton (1659–1733) was a bookseller who visited Massachusetts from England during 1686. He wrote a series of letters documenting his visit and very matter-of-factly described a chance encounter with an Indigenous man on the road from Wenham to Ipswich, as well as a visit to the “Indian Town” of Wanasquam (also rendered as Wonasquam, on the Riverview peninsula between the Annisquam River and Mill River in Gloucester).⁶⁰

The first vignette occurred while Dunton and a companion were riding to Ipswich after having visited Rev. Joseph Gerrish, who was living in the Claflin-Richards House:

Our conversation was interrupted by a friend[ly] Indian’s overtaking us, who was a-going to Ipswich as well as we. And because the evening was pretty far advanced, we were glad of his company; who though he was on foot, travelled as fast as our horse, and faster too, or else he had not overtaken us. And observing his going, I could not but admire to see what paths their naked hardened feet had made in that wilderness, even in stony and rocky places. This honest Indian offered, if we had anything to carry, to carry it for us. And I observed that for a small hire, a man shall never want guides who will carry their provisions for them over rivers and brooks, and oftentimes find out hunting-houses and other lodgings at night. I have

59 Walter Fairfield had served as town constable in 1680. Thomas Fiske Jr., who testified that he saw Goodwife Fairfield serve strong beer to an Indigenous man, had served as town constable in 1681. Wenham Historical Society (1930), 51, 56, 210. For more on local laws prohibiting the sale of alcohol to Indigenous people, see Perley (1924), 49.

60 Dunton published *Letters Written from New-England* in 1686 and reused some of that content in his *Life and Errors* in 1705; see Whitmore (1867), 261-299 and Parks (1974), 182-192 respectively. In his 1686 *Letters* Dunton included descriptions of Indigenous customs that had been written by Roger Williams in his 1643 *Key Into the Language of America*. Chapin (1997), 203. The Williams passages are excluded here because Williams was observing peoples other than the Agawam.

heard of many English that in their travelling have been lost, who have been found and succored by the Indians very kindly.⁶¹

In a second vignette, Dunton recorded his visit to the Pawtucket village at Wanasquam (Gloucester):

The next morning I was returning to Boston, but Mr. Steward was very solicitous to have me stay that day and go with him to Wanasquam, an Indian town, where he had some business. I confess he hit me in the right vein, for I loved rambling dearly and knew not how to deny him, and therefore was easily persuaded to go with him.

Having refreshed ourselves before we went by eating a good breakfast, we began our ramble and had ridden almost half the way [from Ipswich] to Wanasquam, when on the road we met an Indian woman, her face all over blackened with soot, having a very sorrowful and rueful sort of countenance. And quickly afterwards [we met] two or three Indian men in the same black and sorrowful condition, that had I been alone, it would have frightened me. But having Mr. Steward with me, I was well enough. Indeed, they all passed by us civilly, saying only "*Asconequassum*," which is in English "Good morrow to you."

Mr. Steward asked me if I had ever seen any of those black-faced Indians before. I told him no, and asked him what the meaning of it was. He told me they had had some [relative] very lately dead, and that the blacking of their faces was equivalent to the English going into mourning for their [relatives]. ...

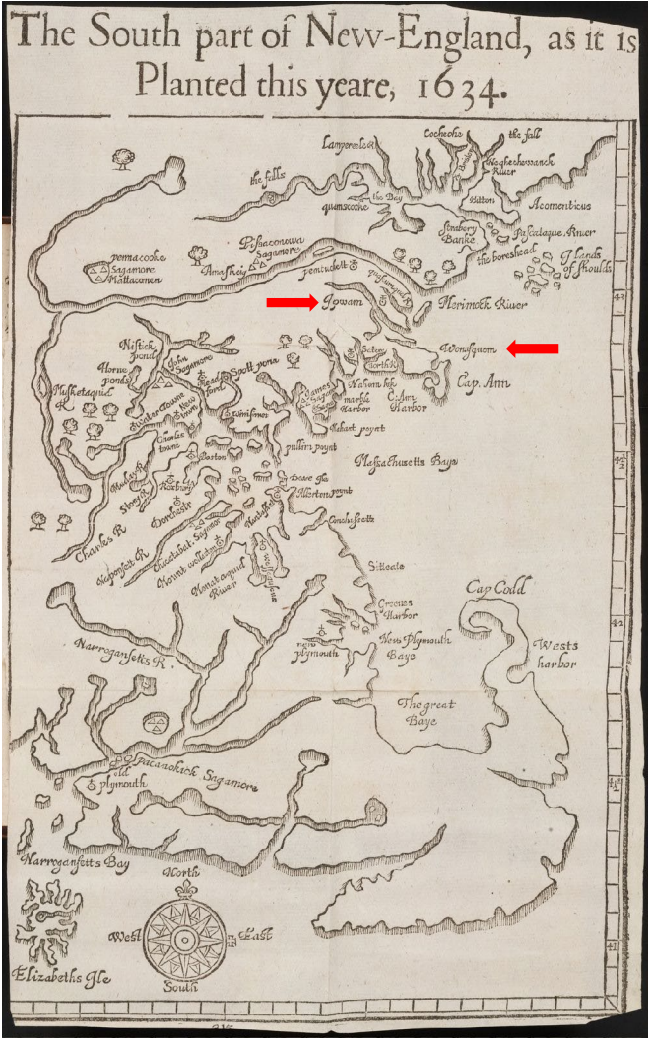
[Wanasquam] is a very sorry sort of a town, but better to come at by land than by water, for it is a dangerous place to sail by, especially in stormy weather, by reason of the many rocks and foaming breakers all about it. We



John Dunton, 1707⁶²

61 Whitmore (1867), 276-277. Spelling and punctuation edited. Dunton also told a shorter version of this story in his 1705 *Life and Errors*; see Parks (1974), 188.

62 British Museum 1943,0410.507.



William Wood’s 1634 map of New England.⁶³ “Agawam” appears near the center of the page to the south of the Merrimack River. “Wonasquam” (Wanasquam) appears along the north shore of Cape Ann.

63 Wood (1634).

saw several other mourning Indians in that town, and upon enquiry found that one of the chief Indians in the town was lately dead and buried. There was nothing else remarkable to be seen in the town, and therefore, as soon as Mr. Steward had done his business, we returned back to Ipswich.⁶⁴

A striking thing about both vignettes is that, at this point in the Pawtucket diaspora, it was still unexceptional to encounter Indigenous people while traveling from one Essex County town to the next. But the image of a Pawtucket funeral is, of course, a vivid reminder of the shrinking of their population that was underway.

64 Whitmore (1867), 293-295. Spelling and punctuation edited. Dunton also told a version of this story in his 1705 *Life and Errors*; see Parks (1974), 190-192. Dunton included content describing Indigenous burial and mourning practices, content that he took from Roger Williams. It has been excluded here (at the ellipsis) because it is not a first-person description of known Agawam practices. See also Felt (1834), 6.

Points of Interest

- **John Solart House, 106 Main Street.** Ezekiel Woodward lived here after marrying Solart's widow and used part of this house as a tavern, advertising it with "the sign of y^e flower de luce."⁶⁵ Around 1682 Woodward hired a group of Agawam to build a stone wall on his property.
- **Walter Fairfield House Site, 15 Walnut Road, Hamilton.** Fairfield's property straddled the Hamilton-Wenham town line, his house approximately where CVS and Crosby's Marketplace are today. (Fairfield Drive in Hamilton is a reminder of the site's history.) He was considered a Wenham resident, and operated a tavern in his house where he and his wife hosted Agawam customers.⁶⁶
- **Wigwam Island, Wenham Swamp.** Once located between Fowler's Island and Perkins Island, an area that is now submerged, the origin of its name is unexplained. Might it have resembled a wigwam from a distance? Or, more likely, might it have been the home of one or more Agawam at an early date?

⁶⁵ Perley, "Wenham" (1888), 1242. The flower-de-luce is an archaic name for the iris.

⁶⁶ For the former site of the house, see Walling (1856); Sanborn Map Company (1916), 1, 3; the United States Geological Survey's 1938 aerial photograph of the area on HistoricAerials.com; Ganz (2013), 7-8; and Corcoran (2021), 2:94, n. 11.

KING WILLIAM'S WAR 1688–1697

KING William's War was one of a series of wars between the French and the British (and their allies) that were fought on and off during the colonial period, with simultaneous fronts in Europe and North America. Much of the fighting in the North American theater focused on Maine, Nova Scotia and Quebec. The French allied themselves with the Wabanaki Confederacy, a collection of Indigenous peoples living in the Maritime provinces and northern New England. Raids against English colonists by members of the Wabanaki Confederacy (particularly by the Abenaki) were made as far south as Essex County: Andover (1689, 1696, 1698), Amesbury (1690, 1694), Rowley (1691), Georgetown (1692), Newbury (1695) and Haverhill (1697).⁶⁷ Wenham responded in multiple ways.

In 1690 the Massachusetts Bay Colony sent some 2,300 soldiers to attack the French and their Indigenous allies who were protecting Quebec City, sailing out of Hull, around the Maritimes and down the St. Lawrence River. It was a disaster for the English, who lost an estimated 1,000 troops mostly due

⁶⁷ Although the raids on Andover, Amesbury, Georgetown, Newbury and Haverhill are well-documented, the 1691 raid on Rowley is less so. A brief mention of the Rowley raid appears in Honde *et al.* (1691).



“Escape of the Dustan Family,” [*sic*] an 1850 engraving of the 1697 **Abenaki Raid on Haverhill.**⁶⁸ About 40 colonists were killed or captured during the raid. In this image Thomas Duston is shown firing on a group of Abenaki, his children fleeing and his house on fire, his wife having been captured.

⁶⁸ Barber and Barber (1850), 196.

to illness and shipwreck. Eighteen men from Wenham were part of the 1690 Expedition to Canada, otherwise known as the Battle of Quebec (table, pages 35-36).⁶⁹ Wenham soldiers Robert Claflin and possibly John Abbey Sr. died during the operation.

The next year, Wenham joined forces with Ipswich, Newbury, Rowley and Topsfield to form a company of 30 militia to patrol the south bank of the Merrimack River between Newbury and Bradford, on the lookout for the Abenaki.⁷⁰ There's no indication in surviving records that the militia encountered any French or Indigenous fighters. While it's likely that every able-bodied man was a member of Wenham's militia, eighteen are readily identifiable (table, pages 35-36).⁷¹

So worried were Wenhamites that in 1691 the town voted to build a fortification to protect women and children—but there's no evidence it was actually built.

In addition to mobilizing its militia, Wenham voted in a 1691 town meeting “that for as much as we apprehend it our duty to do what we may for our safety in this time of danger, that there shall be a fortification built for a shelter for our women and children.” A committee was formed to develop a recommendation. But there's no indication that Wenham actually built any fortification or garrison house.⁷²

Not specific to Wenham, but an indication of what the mood was in and around town: During three weeks in the summer of 1692 a group of French and Indigenous people was rumored to be prowling around Gloucester. The incident happened during the height of the witchcraft hysteria; some argued that what witnesses saw were not actual people, but rather supernatural, ghostly specters. Still, the perceived danger was great enough that the town

69 Fiske *et al.* (1694).

70 Honde *et al.* (1691).

71 Criteria: Wenhamites who used a military title during peacetime, known veterans of King Philip's War or the Expedition to Canada, and/or members of the 1691 committee who were appointed to address the matter of building a fortification or garrison.

72 Allen (1860), 46-47. Wenham Historical Society (1930), 96 (spelling and punctuation edited). Cole (1943), 58.

of Ipswich sent a contingent of 60 men to bushwhack through Gloucester's swamps to root out the enemy. They found none.⁷³

⁷³ Mather (1702), VII:82-84. Babson (1860), 31-32. Waters (1905-1917), 1:297-298.

Wenham Soldiers	Expedition to Canada 1690	Member of the Militia 1691
Capt. Thomas Fiske Sr. (1632–1707) ⁷⁴		✓
Lieut. John Dodge (1636–1723) ⁷⁵	✓	✓
Lieut. Thomas Fiske Jr. (ca.1653–1723) ⁷⁶		✓
Lieut. William Fiske Jr. (1643–1728) ⁷⁷		✓
Lieut. Charles Gott Jr. (1639–1708) ⁷⁸		✓
Ens. John Batchelder (bp.1638–1698) ⁷⁹		✓
Ens. Walter Fairfield (bp.1631–1723) ⁸⁰		✓
Ens. Samuel Kimball (ca.1651–1716) ⁸¹		✓
Sgt. Richard Hutton (ca.1617–1713) ⁸²		✓
Sgt. Thomas Patch (ca.1638–1722) ⁸³		✓
Sgt. John Perkins (1652–1718) ⁸⁴		✓
Sgt. Ezekiel Woodward (ca.1622–1699) ⁸⁵	✓	
Cpl. James Friend (ca.1633–1718) ⁸⁶		✓
Cpl. Thomas Kilham (ca.1653–1725) ⁸⁷		✓
John Abbey Sr. (d.ca.1690) ⁸⁸	✓	

74 Allen (1860), 47. Perley (1888), 1238. Pierce (1896), 64-65. Wenham Historical Society (1930), 89, 96. Was a lieutenant during King Philip's War.

75 Fiske *et al.* (1694). Wenham Historical Society (1930), 75, 76, 78, 83, 84, 85, 96.

76 Wenham Historical Society (1930), 71, 74, 77, 82, 83, 86, 88, 89, 91, 96.

77 Perley (1888), 1238. Wenham Historical Society (1930), 93, 101.

78 Allen (1860), 47. Wenham Historical Society (1930), 71, 74, 76, 77, 79, 82, 85, 86, 89, 91, 92, 96.

79 Wenham Historical Society (1930), 74, 76, 77, 83, 89, 91, 93, 96, 102.

80 Wenham Historical Society (1930), 71, 74, 76-79, 82-84, 86, 88, 101, 102.

81 Morrison and Sharples (1897), 1:51. Wenham Historical Society (1930), 96.

82 Wenham Historical Society (1930), 75, 76, 78, 79, 82, 86, 89, 91.

83 Wenham Historical Society (1930), 96, 128, 129, 133, 140, 141, 143, 146, 149, 156, 157, 159, 160, 165, 170, 173, 179, 184, 209.

84 Inclusion of Perkins in the militia is based on his status as veteran of King Philip's War.

85 Fiske *et al.* (1694). Inclusion in the militia is based on his status as veteran of King Philip's War and the Expedition to Canada.

86 Wenham Historical Society (1930), 96.

87 Wenham Historical Society (1930), 79.

88 Weaver (1864), 10-13, who states that Abbey died in Wenham. Fiske *et al.* (1694). Essex County Probate 3 (John Abbey, 1702), :2 Inventory (1703).

Wenham Soldiers	Expedition to Canada 1690	Member of the Militia 1691
Thomas Bette (b.1668–after 1696) ⁸⁹	✓	✓
Robert Claflin (d.1690) ⁹⁰	✓	✓
Benjamin Edwards (ca.1662–1723) ⁹¹		
Richard Gray ⁹²	✓	✓
Ephraim Kimball (1660–1732) ⁹³	✓	✓
Richard Kimball (1643–1715) ⁹⁴	✓	
Ephraim Knowlton ⁹⁵	✓	
Joseph Manning ⁹⁶	✓	
Alexander Maxcy Jr. ⁹⁷ (ca.1673–1723)	✓	✓
Ephraim Patch ⁹⁸	✓	
6 Others ⁹⁹	✓	

89 Fiske *et al.* (1694). Inclusion in the militia is based on his veteran status.

90 Fiske *et al.* (1694).

91 Wenham Historical Society (1930), 96.

92 Fiske *et al.* (1694). Gray has yet to be identified. Was he perhaps a brother of John Gray of Beverly? See Raymond (1887), 6-7.

93 Fiske *et al.* (1694). Inclusion in the militia is based on his veteran status.

94 Fiske *et al.* (1694). Inclusion in the militia is based on his veteran status.

95 Fiske *et al.* (1694). Knowlton has yet to be identified. An Ephraim Knowlton, son of Thomas and Hannah (Greene) Knowlton of Ipswich, was born in 1676. But that would make him just 14 years old at the time of the Expedition to Canada. See Stocking (1897), 1:24, 30.

96 Fiske *et al.* (1694). Manning has yet to be identified. Was he perhaps an unrecorded son of Richard and Anstice (Colley) Manning of Salem and Ipswich? See Manning (1902), 659-663.

97 Fiske *et al.* (1694). Inclusion of in the militia is based on his veteran status.

98 Fiske *et al.* (1694). Patch has yet to be identified. Was he perhaps an unrecorded son of Sgt. Thomas Patch?

99 Fiske *et al.* (1694). Six names in Fiske *et al.*'s list are difficult to read.

Points of Interest

- **Town Common, Main Street.** In 1680 the town designated the site now occupied by Town Hall as the training ground for the militia.¹⁰⁰ Members of the militia would have drilled here prior to the 1690 expedition to Canada and while preparing for the 1691 patrol of the Merrimack River. If the town had built a garrison—a project that was approved in town meeting but probably didn't get done—the training ground would have been a logical site for it.

Six houses are still standing that were residences of members of Wenham's late seventeenth-century militia:

- **Thomas Kilham House, 26 Maple Street.** The oldest part of the house is thought to date to *ca.*1686.¹⁰¹
- **Newman-Fiske-Dodge House, 162 Cherry Street.** Once the residence of William Fiske Jr., the oldest part of the house may have been built by 1672.¹⁰²
- **Ens. Samuel Kimball House, 29 Pleasant Street.** The oldest part of the house is thought to date to *ca.*1699.¹⁰³
- **Richard Hutton House, 185 Main Street.** The oldest part of the house is thought to date to *ca.*1679.¹⁰⁴

100 Wenham Historical Society (1930), 52-53. Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 45-46, map following 139. Janes (2011), 120-121. See also Dodge (1968), map following III-14.

101 MACRIS, WNH.121 (1977, 1985). Corcoran (2021), 2:12, 27-30.

102 Wenham Historical Society (1930), 130. Corcoran (2021), 1:93-94. The house was expanded if not rebuilt in 1696, and dendrochronology is needed to determine how much of the house, if any, incorporates the earlier structure. MACRIS, WNH.116 (1977, 1985) provides a construction date of *ca.*1658 but without justification for so early a date; the *ca.*1658 date is rather unlikely, given the viewable architectural elements.

103 MACRIS, WNH.115 (1977). The oldest portion of the house is obscured from exterior view by subsequent additions.

104 MACRIS, WNH.45 (1970, 1971). Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 81-83.

- **Claflin-Richards House, 132 Main Street.** The house was built by Robert Claflin *ca.*1662 and later (1693) became the residence of Thomas Fiske Jr.¹⁰⁵
- **John Solart House, 106 Main Street.** Built by John Solart (*ca.*1625–1672), the oldest part of the house is thought to date to *ca.*1670. Ezekiel Woodward lived here after marrying Solart's widow.¹⁰⁶

105 Essex County Deeds 41:184 ([Rev.] Joseph Gerrish to Thomas Fiske Jr., 1693). Cole (1943), 29. MACRIS, WNH.86 (1969, 1971).

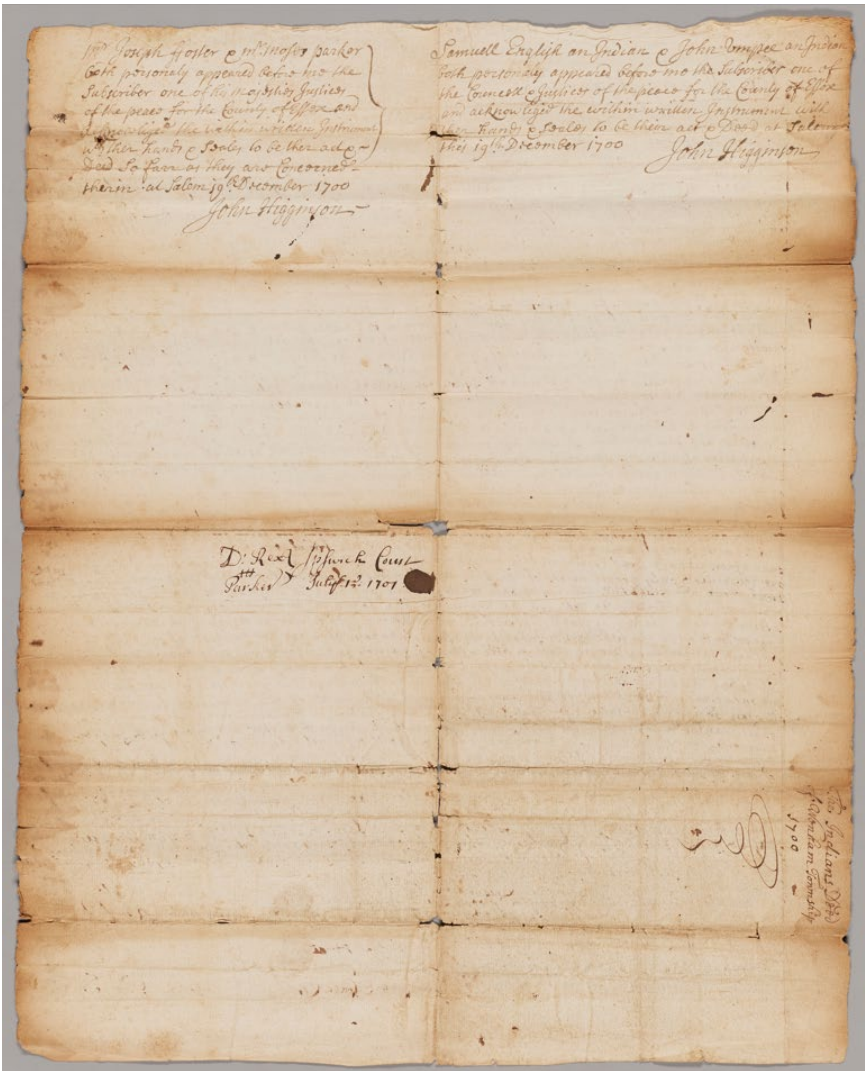
106 MACRIS, WNH.91 (1971, 1976). Corcoran (2021), 2:9-11.

THE PAWTUCKET DEED 1700

IN the fall of 1700 four members of Masconomet's (d.1658) family—assisted by colonists Joseph Foster (1650–1721) of Billerica and Moses Parker (1655–1732) of Chelmsford—put forward their claim to title for much of Essex County. Samuel English, Joseph English, John Umpee and Jeremiah Wauches represented themselves as the only surviving heirs of Masconomet, and were able to secure negotiations with the towns of Beverly, Manchester, Wenham, Newbury, Gloucester, Boxford, Topsfield, Rowley and Bradford. During the period of October 1700 through October 1701, Masconomet's family—in some cases as a group, in other cases Samuel English acting alone—provided each of these towns with a quitclaim deed ceding title, in exchange for payment in silver coinage.¹⁰⁷

Thomas Fiske Jr. (*ca.*1653–1723), Walter Fairfield (bp.1631–1723), Thomas Patch (*ca.*1638–1722) and William Fiske Jr. (1643–1728) were selected to negotiate on behalf of the town of Wenham. They secured a deed in December 1700 for £3.10s, laying to rest any lingering questions Wenhamites might have had about their property titles. Although silver coinage was a rare thing in a barter-based economy, the amount was a steal: When

107 Foster and Parker acted as sureties, providing a covenant that the grandchildren were indeed the legal heirs of Masconomet, that they were the rightful owners of the land, and had the authority to convey title to it. English, English and Umpee were Masconomet's grandsons; Wauches was married to Masconomet's granddaughter.



The Pawtucket deed of 1700, back.¹⁰⁹

109 *Ibid.*

Thomas Kilham sold his West Wenham house, barn and 27 acres in 1701, William Fairfield paid £140 in cash and credit.¹¹⁰

Nearly all the towns that secured deeds from Masconomet's family recorded those deeds with Essex County or made a copy of their deed in their town record book. But Wenham didn't do so. Its deed was lost shortly after 1845, but accidentally discovered in 1968 in the State House archives. It is currently in the collection of the Peabody Essex Museum's Phillips Library.¹¹¹

Points of Interest

- **Newman-Fiske-Dodge House, 162 Cherry Street.** The residence of Agawam Deed negotiator William Fiske Jr., the oldest part of the house may have been built by 1672. William Fiske Jr. was a member of the jury that heard the Salem Witchcraft Trials.¹¹²
- **Claflin-Richards House, 132 Main Street.** The residence of Agawam Deed negotiator Thomas Fiske Jr., the oldest part of the house is thought to date *ca.*1662. Like William Fiske Jr., Thomas Jr. was a member of the jury that heard the Salem Witchcraft Trials.¹¹³

110 "Land Deed for Wenham, Massachusetts," MSS 424. Courtesy of Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Rowley, MA.

Felt (1834), 306. Allen (1860), 48. Archer (1878), 417. Perley, "Wenham" (1888), 1230. Perley (1912), 88-134. Wenham Historical Society, *Supplement* (1940), 40, 41-42, 43-44. Cole (1943) 8-9.

111 Metcalf (1865), 10:495-500 (Amos Brown *et al. vs.* Inhabitants of Wenham, 1845). Cole (1943), 9-10. Perley (1912), 98-100, contains part of the text of the deed, which was transcribed in an 1845 court document.

112 Upham (1867), 2:474-475. Wenham Historical Society (1930), 130. Corcoran (2021), 1:93-94. The house was expanded if not rebuilt in 1696, and dendrochronology is needed to determine how much of the house, if any, incorporates the earlier structure. MACRIS, WNH.116 (1977, 1985) provides a construction date of *ca.*1658 but without justification for so early a date; the *ca.*1658 date is rather unlikely, given the viewable architectural elements.

113 Essex County Deeds 41:184 ([Rev.] Joseph Gerrish to Thomas Fiske Jr., 1693). Upham (1867), 2:474-475. Cole (1943), 29. MACRIS, WNH.86 (1969, 1971). Corcoran (2021), 1:67.

DISAPPEARANCE

1701–1776

WRITING in 1845, one historian said of the Pawtucket and Salem: “Credible tradition relates that, down to 1725 and subsequently, a company of them paid an annual visit to Salem and encamped on a side of Gallows Hill.”¹¹⁴ (How many visitors? Where were they living when they weren’t making their annual visit to Salem?) The same historian tells us that in 1726 there were three Indigenous families living in wigwams on Wigwam Hill on Castle Neck, Ipswich¹¹⁵—a small group having moved there from the Lake Winnepesaukee region in 1669. (There was just one family on Wigwam Hill in 1669; who were the others a half century later?)

Despite the unanswered questions, what we can glean from these snippets is that there were still some Indigenous people living in this area as late as the 1720s, although very few. And some of those who *were* living nearby were descendants of Indigenous people who moved to this area from elsewhere.

¹¹⁴ Felt (1845), 1:19. Punctuation edited.

¹¹⁵ Felt (1834), 5–6. In 1669 a small group of Indigenous people moved to Wigwam Hill from the Lake Winnepesaukee region. The earliest reference to the hill’s name is from 1676. Essex County Deeds 46:98 (Commoners of Ipswich to Symonds Epes, 1727). Felt (1834), 34. Waters (1905–1917), 2:737–741. Harris (2020). Lepionka (2022), “The Story Behind the Story of Wigwam Hill.”

It's a startling juxtaposition to what was happening in the larger context. Massachusetts had been paying bounties for the scalps of hostile Indigenous people at different periods during the seventeenth century. In 1722 Massachusetts updated its bounty-paying with a new law that targeted "Indian enemies

There were still a handful of Indigenous people living in Ipswich in the 1720s, some of whom were members of families who had moved to Ipswich from New Hampshire in the 1660s.

and rebels" that articulated a bounty for the scalp of "any male Indian" aged 12 or older. (The law did include a penalty in cases where someone tried to collect a bounty for a scalp for someone who was *not* an enemy, but the law was silent on what method was to be used to determine the enemy/ally status of a man once his scalp was separated from the rest of his body.)¹¹⁶

Global-level competition with the French hadn't gone away. British and French colonists in New England fought

each other in four wars during the eighteenth century, both sides making alliances that exploited hostilities between Indigenous peoples. No record has been found of Wenhamites fighting in the first two of these wars (Queen Anne's War of 1702–1713 and Dummer's War of 1722–1725),¹¹⁷ but Wenham did have soldiers in the second two (King George's War of 1744–1748 and the French and Indian War of 1754–1763). As had been the case during the 1600s, Wenham soldiers mobilized to fight Indigenous peoples who lived outside the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Fourteen Wenham men fought in King George's War (table, page 45). A key battle of that war was the Siege of Louisburg (Cape Breton) in 1745, the fortress at Louisburg being a key element of the French defenses of their Canadian colonies. Louisburg was guarded by French soldiers and their Mi'kmaq allies. Five of Wenham's nine soldiers (Phineas Dodge Jr., John Maxcy, Thomas Perkins Jr., Israel Porter and Thomas Pousland) died during

116 Commonwealth of Massachusetts (1874), 258–259, "An Act to Encourage the Prosecution of the Indian Enemy and Rebels" (1722).

117 Cole (1943), 59 contends that Daniel Claflin of Wenham served in Dummer's War, enlisting with volunteers from Rowley, but no corroboration of this has been found.

Wenham Soldiers in King George's War

Capt. John Baker (1701–1745)¹¹⁸

Capt. Samuel Kimball (1677–1746)¹¹⁹

Ens. Benjamin Kimball (1706–1766)¹²⁰

Isaac Andrews (b.1729?)¹²¹

Phineas Dodge Jr. (1713–1745)¹²²

Samuel Goodridge (1719–1776)¹²³

Samuel Gott (1695–1752)¹²⁴

Ebenezer Kilham (b.1720)¹²⁵

Nathaniel Kimball (1701–1775)¹²⁶

John Maxcy (d.1745)¹²⁷

Thomas Perkins Jr. (1723–1745)¹²⁸

Humphrey Pierce Jr. (1724–1775)¹²⁹

Israel Porter (bp.1710?–1745)¹³⁰

Thomas Pousland (d.1745)¹³¹

118 Essex County Probate 1445 (Capt. John Baker, 1745), :7 Inventory (1745), which includes his armor. Findagrave.com, memorial #19382955.

119 Essex County Probate 15743 (Capt. Samuel Kimball, 1746). Morrison and Sharples (1897), 1:66–67.

120 Morrison and Sharples (1897), 1:113. Essex Institute (1904), 135, 208.

121 *Colonial Soldiers* (2013), 10. Andrews has yet to be identified; was he perhaps the Isaac Andrews who was born in Ipswich in 1729?

122 Dodge (1894), 60. Essex Institute (1904), 192. Cole (1943), 59.

123 Goodridge (1918), 101–102. *Colonial Soldiers* (2013), 182.

124 Essex County Probate 11342 (Samuel Gott, 1752), :6 Will (1752), bequest of his armor. Findagrave.com, memorial #52878358.

125 Essex County Deeds 86:284 (Ebenezer Killam [*sic*] to Thomas Browne Jr., power of attorney, 1744). Perley (1913), 219–220.

126 *Colonial Soldiers* (2013), 260. Morrison & Sharples (1897), 1:67, 112, 211.

127 Essex Institute (1904), 211. Cole (1943), 59. Maxcy has yet to be identified. The only candidate found is the John Maxcy who was born in Wenham in 1670, but that would make him aged 75 when he fought, which seems unlikely.

128 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 101. Perley (1888), 1238. Perkins (1889), 3:14. Essex Institute (1904), 216. Cole (1943), 59.

129 Peck (1961), 233–234. *Colonial Soldiers* (2013), 345.

130 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 101. Perley (1888), 1238. Essex Institute (1904), 217. Cole (1943), 59. Porter has yet to be identified. He does not seem to be the Israel Porter Jr. who was baptized in 1716 because that Israel was a resident of Salem at the time of his death. He may have been the Israel Porter who was baptized in 1710. Essex County Probate 22462 (Israel Porter, 1746). Porter (1878), 242, 243, 253.

131 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 101. Essex Institute (1904), 218. Perley (1888), 1238. Cole (1943), 59. Pousland has yet to be identified; was he perhaps the Thomas Pousland Jr.

the siege, four of whom dying on the same day.¹³²

Twenty-two Wenham men fought in the French and Indian War, many of whom fighting in upstate New York (table, pages 47-48).¹³³ With a 1765 population of 564 people,¹³⁴ Wenham's contingent was 4% of its population. Rev. Joseph Swain (1723–1792) served as the chaplain for Col. Ichabod Plaisted's Regiment, mustered at Salem.¹³⁵ Dr. William Fairfield (1732–1773) served as surgeon for Col. Joseph William's Regiment, mustered at Roxbury.¹³⁶

born in Marblehead in 1712, or perhaps the Thomas Pousland baptized in Marblehead in 1727? Essex Institute (1903–1904), 1:407.

132 Phineas Dodge Jr., Nathaniel Kimball, John Maxcy, Thomas Perkins Jr. and Thomas Pousland died the same day. Essex Institute (1904), 192, 211, 216, 217, 218.

133 In addition to the men shown in the table, Ipswich resident Caleb Lampson (1739–after 1781) enlisted at Wenham. Allen, MS (1756). Lamson (1917), 61-62.

134 Benton (1905), 76-77.

135 Allen (1860), 64. Perley (1888), 1238. Cole (1943), 62.

136 Williams, MS (1759). Ganz (2013), 191-193.

Wenham Soldiers in the French and Indian War

Capt. Isaac Dodge (d.1759)¹³⁷

Rev. Joseph Swain (1723–1792), chaplain¹³⁸

Dr. William Fairfield (1732–1773), surgeon¹³⁹

Samuel Batchelder¹⁴⁰

Nathaniel Brown Jr. (ca.1705–1778)¹⁴¹

Daniel Casey¹⁴²

John Daverson (b. ca.1736)¹⁴³

Jacob Dodge (1716–1792)¹⁴⁴

Richard Hubbard Dodge (1737–1815)¹⁴⁵

Elijah Fairfield (1707–1758)¹⁴⁶

Thomas Fiske¹⁴⁷

Abraham Knowlton (1725–1757)¹⁴⁸

137 Perley (1888), 1238. Essex Institute (1904), 191. Cole (1943), 59. Dodge has yet to be identified.

138 Allen (1860), 64. Perley (1888), 1238. Cole (1943), 62.

139 Williams, MS (1759). Allen (1860), 124. Cole (1943), 60–61. Ganz (2013), 188–202.

140 Davis, MS (1756). The 1756 muster roll says that Batchelder was born in Wenham. He has yet to be identified, as there are multiple candidates born in Wenham who would have been an appropriate age for service during the war; see Essex Institute (1904), 9–12.

141 White (1900), 1:51–52. *Colonial Soldiers* (2013), 67.

142 Davis, MS (1756). The 1756 muster roll says that Casey was born in Wenham and was living there at the time of muster, but he has yet to be identified.

143 Fuller, MS (1756). The 1756 muster roll says that Daverson was born in Wenham and was living there at the time of muster, but he has yet to be identified.

144 Dodge (1894), 73–74. *Colonial Soldiers* (2013), 118.

145 Dodge (1894), 120. *Colonial Soldiers* (2013), 129. Findagrave.com, memorial #6993532.

146 Allen, MS (1756). Ganz (2013), 126.

147 Davis, MS (1756). The 1756 muster roll says that Fiske was born in Wenham and was living there at the time of muster, but he has yet to be identified.

148 Allen, MS (1756). Essex County Probate 16049 (Abraham Knowlton, 1757). Stocking (1897), 1:35.

Wenham Soldiers in the French and Indian War (Continued)
James Man [sic] ¹⁴⁹ John May ¹⁵⁰ Eli Meservey (d.1758) ¹⁵¹
Josiah Moulton (1739–1776) ¹⁵² Daniel Porter (1721–1760) ¹⁵³ Jonathan Porter (1712–1783) ¹⁵⁴
Samuel Porter (1711–1786) ¹⁵⁵ Jeremiah Satchell ¹⁵⁶ Thomas Spear ¹⁵⁷
Benjamin Webber (bp.1738–d.1762) ¹⁵⁸

149 Johnson, MS (1756). The 1756 muster roll says that “Man” was living in Wenham at the time of muster, but he has yet to be identified.

150 Fuller, MS (1756). The 1756 muster roll says that May was born in Wenham and living in Beverly at the time of muster. See Essex Institute (1904), 60 for the births of two children in Wenham in 1762 and 1765.

151 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 68 #73. Perley (1888), 1238. Essex Institute (1904), 212. Cole (1943), 62.

152 Allen, MS (1756). Moulton and Moulton (1905), 25.

153 Porter (1878) 258–259. *Colonial Soldiers* (2013), 290.

154 Porter (1878), 258. Ray (1881), 68.

155 Davis, MS (1756). Porter (1878), 257. *Colonial Soldiers* (2013), 290. Corcoran (2021), 2:282–283.

156 Davis, MS (1756). The 1756 muster roll says that Satchell was born in Wenham and was living there at the time of muster, but he has yet to be identified.

157 Johnson, MS (1756). The 1756 muster roll says that Spear was living in Wenham at the time of muster, but he has yet to be identified.

158 Allen, MS (1756). Essex Institute (1904), 224. The 1756 muster roll says that Webber was born in Ipswich and living in Wenham at the time of muster.



The census of 1765 is Wenham's earliest. It tallied 95 families living in 72 houses. The town had 541 "white" residents, 28 "negro" residents and five "Indian" residents—three male and two female. The census makes no distinction between enslaved *vs.* free people of color, and therefore raises the question whether any of the town's African-descended or Indigenous residents were indeed free.¹⁵⁹ The five Indigenous residents are anonymous, and their respective origins unrecorded.

Lazarus, an "Indian servant" of Nathaniel Brown Jr. (*ca.*1705–1778) died in Wenham in 1776. He may have been one of the three male Indigenous residents who were tallied in the 1765 census. His death was recorded with Wenham's First Congregational Church, which indicates he attended services there. His death is the only death (or birth or marriage, for that matter) for an Indigenous person recorded in Wenham. In Lazarus's case, "servant" is almost certainly a euphemism, as there were three enslaved children of African descent were born in the Brown household between 1772 and 1777.¹⁶⁰

The five Indigenous residents of Wenham were representative of the larger dynamic at work in Essex County: There were *only* five of them in 1765. And, with the exception of Lazarus, they disappear from the record. The story of Wenham's colonial-period interaction with Indigenous people ends without us knowing what happened to its last Indigenous residents.

159 Benton (1905), 76-77. "Indian" was a term used to refer to people who were indigenous to New England as well as people who were indigenous to the Caribbean

160 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 201. Essex Institute (1904), 227.

1776	1777.
326. Jan ^y 8. an Infant Child of Andrews Dodge	337. Jan ^y 21. Israel Batcheller who died of a small Pox in 7 th Army.
327. March 28. Churchill Knoul- ton.	338. March 6. 4 th Wife of Bartho- lomeus Dodge.
328. May 7. an Infant Child of Mr Nathaniel Brown	339. March 9 th an Infant Child of John & Lydia Hyland
329. May 30. Lazarus an Indian Servant of Nath ^l Brown Esq ^r	340. May 30. Primus, a Negro Man Servant of Mr. John Dodge
330. June 21. John Warren	341. June 20. The Wife of Mr. A- mos Dodge.
331. June 22. The Wife of Heppes Dodge	342. July 12. a negro Infant be- longing to Nath ^l Brown Esq ^r
332. July 20. Josiah Moulton of a wound received aboard a Privateer.	343. Sept. 21. a young Child of Israel Brown Dodge
333. Aug ^o 7. Nathaniel Kimball	344. William Fairfield who died at Sea.
334 } Nov: 1. two young Children	345. Sept. 30. a young Child of Richard Friend.
335 } of Andrew & Wife: Allen	346. Oct. 5. Josiah Fairfield Esq ^r
336. Decem ^r 26. The Wife of Asa Dexter	347. Oct. 29. Mary Daughter of Asa & Phebe Allen

Wenham First Congregational Church's Record of Deaths for 1776 and 1777. The record of Lazarus's death is at #329 in the left column.¹⁶¹

¹⁶¹ Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 201. The Congregational Library & Archives, Boston, MA, RG4929. The record of an anonymous enslaved infant in the Nathaniel Brown Jr. household is at #342 in the right column.

Points of Interest

Three houses are still standing that were residences of veterans of the French and Indian War:

- **Porter-Crowninshield House, 9 Maple Street.** The residence of Daniel Porter, a house was built on this site in 1658 but dendrochronology is needed to determine whether any of the existing structure is older than the 1680s.¹⁶²
- **Hobbs House, 135 Main Street.** The house was a residence of Nathaniel Brown Jr., who bought it in 1767. The oldest part of the house is thought to date to *ca.*1698.¹⁶³ Brown had an Indigenous man Lazarus in his household by 1776.
- **Porter-Fairfield House, 79 Main Street.** A house was on this site by 1754 that had been built by the Porter family. It was subsequently owned by French and Indian War veteran Nathaniel Brown Jr. The house was renovated or replaced in 1765 by Dr. William Fairfield, who hired housewright Nathaniel Bragg (1701–1790) for the project. Bragg recorded in his account book that he felled timber for the house's frame in March of 1765.¹⁶⁴ Fairfield served as the surgeon in Col. Joseph William's Regiment, mustered at Roxbury.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² Corcoran (2021), 1:78-82.

¹⁶³ Essex County Deeds 123:57 (Josiah and Hannah Batcheller [*sic*] to Nathaniel Brown, 1767). MACRIS, WNH.26 (1970).

¹⁶⁴ Bragg and Towne, MS (1741–1820), 70-71. Dendrochronology is needed to determine how much of the house, if any, incorporates the earlier structure. Essex County Deeds 100:206 (Ebenezer and Hannah Porter to Nathaniel Browne [*sic*], 1754) and 124:131 (Nathaniel and Anne Brown to [Dr.] William Fairfield, 1765). Allen (1860), 74. MACRIS, WNH.12 (1970). Corcoran (2021), 2:237-239.

¹⁶⁵ Williams, MS (1759). Ganz (2013), 191-193.

CODA

WENHAM'S earliest English families chose a spot for their village that was adjacent to the trail connecting the former Pawtucket villages at Agawam (Ipswich) and Naumkeag (Salem), a spot that had been partially cleared by the Pawtucket to grow corn. Indigenous people were encouraged to move to the praying town of Wamesit (Lowell) beginning in the 1650s, and mandated to move there or to another praying town during King Philip's War in the mid-1670s. A few, however, continued to live in or near Wenham as late as the 1680s, and in Ipswich as late as the 1720s.

Wenhamites lived the dichotomy that characterizes the Puritans' relationship with Indigenous peoples during the colonial period: A peaceful relationship with friendly, low-population groups juxtaposed by warfare with hostile, larger-population groups. Wenham soldiers fought in King Philip's War, King William's War, King George's War and the French and Indian War.

Warfare entailed the enslavement of captured Indigenous people. Rev. Hugh Peter, the minister who preached the first sermon in town, had an enslaved Indigenous person in his household during the 1630s. Lazarus, an "Indian servant" in the Nathaniel Brown Jr. household, died shortly before American independence.



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Wenham, Massachusetts' earliest English families built their houses adjacent to a trail that connected the former Pawtucket villages at Agawam (Ipswich) and Naumkeag (Salem), near a site that had already been partially cleared by the Pawtucket to grow corn. *Indigenous People & Wenham* documents interactions between Wenhamites and various Indigenous peoples during the ensuing century and a half. It was a relationship characterized by Wenhamites' peaceful coexistence with friendly, low-population Indigenous peoples countered by warfare with hostile, larger-population peoples.



Robert Corcoran is author of *History of the Thomas Kilham House*. He became interested in the topic of Essex County's Indigenous history while researching the military career of Kilham, a veteran of King Philip's War.